/22 cont./

135 /footnote 3 cont./ Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, extracted or brought from the Tiquié River in the year of 1749, if melted, appear to be of silver, when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already carrying them as such."

*101 189. "The Issana is inhabited by Indians of the nations Baniva, Tumayari, Tuniari, Deçana, Puetana, Uerequena
171 and others. Those of the nation commonly called Uerequena,
[304] through corruption of the word /23/ Ariquena, have as a mark of distinction a very large hole between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears, in which they put
• [551] bunches of straw. Among them are found many who, prior to communication and knowledge of Whites, had Hebrew names, some pure and others with slight corruption, such as: Joab, Jacob, Yacobſ, Thomé, Thomequſ, Davidú, Ivanan and Marianan."

b. Xavier Sampaio, in his "Diario," writes: -- No.
133 380. "Farther down the famous Ucayari, by another name
*[101] the Uaupés, derived from the nation called this, who principally inhabit it, creates a bar. It empties with two mouths and a triangular island of 20 leagues around and innumerable rocks and cachoeiras, very dangerous because of the frightening whirlpools they form... Toward the south the Tiquié and Capuri, which are the principal ones. Toward

/85/

*101 Among the Tukanos we obtained the following:
1. -- Waú-ro põrá (25)

25. Põrá (or poná, as it is pronounced on the rivers Uaupés and Papurí) means begotten, children, and it is only used in the plural. For simplification, in the lists that follow we shall omit the word children in the translation.

[115] The more advanced Indians (who speak Portuguese and have studied for some years in the schools of the Salesian Missions), when asked about these divisions, spontaneously add by way of explanation, "they are nicknames that the others impose on them." This is undoubtedly sometimes true, because they like to give nicknames. But, on the other hand, it is not in disagreement with the "baxséke wamẽ," "blown name" (cf. VIII, 1, b (4)). According to the legends, from the beginning the first chiefs had the nicknames, which passed to the whole group; for example, one of the "heads" was nicknamed "mimí," hummingbird, and his descendants are known today as "Children of the hummingbird, Mimí-põrá."

*[192]
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[115] The Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos of the subdivision Kõma-ro-põrá, from the povoado of S. Luzia on the river Papurí, told us in one of her interesting pieces of information: "The Waú-ro-põrá are the Tukano from the head. Waú is his baxséke wamẽ (blown name). Formerly, he hid /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ himself in the plant called Waú-mutõ, in order to watch the girls taking a bath. The monkey Waú (in Nheengatú wáya-pisá) is very fond of the fruits of that tree. The girls, while they were bathing, heard a noise in the tree, immediately looked in that direction, and saw the man hidden among the branches. They all cried out: waú nĩbẽ! it is the wáya pisá!

*[192]

/143/

153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

[438] [291] [285]

His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

177 829 [342] [291]

/144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

153 The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

• 551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

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• 551 *[192] the civilized, who, they can be sure, already at the first presentation, receive a nickname, which will be propagated with incredible speed (8).

8. They told us of some of these nicknames: one they called sõãgõ, vermilion, because of his color; another, subí, curled, because he had curly hair; a third one, uxpíka-ro, crooked teeth; a fourth one, o'mẽpero-ro, big ears; a fifth one, waú, the uáia-piçá monkey; a sixth one, õxsó-boekhõ, arrow of alligator (because of being tall and thin), etc. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 206) tells that they nicknamed him Wãx'tĩ (see VII-4, d (5)), because of the beard (?), and his companion Schmidt, nõ'myó-axké, monkey-woman.

6) Curiosity.

153 203 [797] Endowed with great curiosity, he wants to learn from any civilized person to whom he is introduced who he is, what his name is, where he comes from, where he is headed, what he came to do, what his nationality is; and they ask their tribal brothers who are accompanying the unknown visitor a thousand other questions. An Indian is apt to make a long and uncomfortable journey in order to tell those of another povoado an episode that happened, the visit of a new missionary, etc. (9).

9. In July of 1956 His Excellency the Coadjutor Bishop of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, Dom José Domitrovitsch, decided to surprise the missionaries of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), and he was covering the 300 kilometers that separate Parí from Taracuá with a small motorboat. He stayed overnight in the povoado of S. João, about 30 kilometers from the Mission. An Indian, in the middle of the night, set out

/318 cont./

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/footnote 4 cont./ concluded that there had been migrations of postdiluvian groups, without excluding the possibility of pre-diluvian migrations.

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2nd -- Indians with Biblical names (see above II - 3); and 3rd -- some episodes of religious fanaticism that took place in the last century on the rivers Içana, Uaupés, and Papurí, with such repercussion that, in spite of the distances,

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/319/ they managed to worry the ones governing Manaus. Now it is not improbable that such episodes imply a more remote Christian influence.

In 1857 the Governador João Baptista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha heard talk of a great movement of the natives of the river Içana, attracted by a preacher who called himself the "Verdadeiro Cristo" /True Christ/. He then appointed as Missionary of the Içana and Uaupés Padre Romualdo Gonçalves d'Azevedo, "in order to thwart the preachings of the pretended Christ, to calm the agitation promoted and to obstruct the migration of the Indians to another people's territory." It indeed became clear to the Government that the "Christ" was trying to induce the Indians to move to the territory of Venezuela. It was feared that he was a foreign political emissary, perhaps even from England, France, or the United States. It was a matter of a Venezuelan Indian, Venâncio by name, who had settled in the povoação /village, town/ Cuiari, on the confluence of the homonymous river with the Içana, and, in the presence of a cross, he would preach his false doctrine, and the concept of him as Saint would grow. "He took advantage," says the Relatorio of Pe. Romualdo, "of the condition to which he was reduced by attacks of catalepsy, from which he suffered, to make believe that he would die, go to heaven, speak with God; and that he had the power to forgive sins" (Relatório dated February 10, 1858 -- Archivo do Amazonas of July 23, 1907,

/418 cont./

797 595 These licenses already existed in the historical period, as follows from the first explorers. The great revolt of the year 1757, during which the povoados of Moreira and Thomar were destroyed by the Indians, and that of Barcelos threatened, had its origin in the anger of the Indian Domingos Lamalonga, from whom the Missionary had made a concubine separate (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario /Diary/," n. 553). On the map of his activities, dated from Carurú-cachoeira the first of April of 1853, Frei Gregório de Bene states: -- "It will be very difficult for some time to unite in Holy Matrimony and even to convert these Indians because they live in polygamy and others in concubinage" (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 2, p. 32). Even at the beginning of this century Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 178) testifies that polygamy is a prerogative of the tuxaua and cites the example of José, Tukano tuxaua of Pari-cachoeira, with two wives, one Tuyuka and the other Taryana.

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7) Domestic-social position of the woman.

562 During an early contact with the natives of the Uaupés, we were surprised at the position of the woman, seeming to us to be of evident inferiority.

• 551 /419/ Her name might not even be known (24).

[852] [797]

24. It frequently happens that the Indian man may bring a child to be baptized. When, in order to make the registration, the Padre starts to ask the names and asks what the child's mother is called, the husband will answer: -- "I do not know, ask her."

There is observed in some human groups, for example, those of the river Canaburi (not, however, those of the Uaupés, see below, VIII-1, b (4)) a prohibition against pronouncing the name of some persons. Some explain this taboo of the name by the "ontological mentality" of the primitives, that is, the name is not something secondary, external, but essential, and is

/419 cont./

• 551 /footnote 24 cont./ identified with such a person (or object). To pronounce this name is to render present that person or sacred object, which is not licit (religious taboo, properly speaking). Or to pronounce the name of a person (for example, that of one's own husband, among tribes of southern India -- cf. Gordon, o. c. 132) will make him die (it is the magic taboo).

551 They will simply say to identify her: -- "The wife of such-and-such a person" or "The mother of such-and-such a person." The
593 husband will use this expression: "Yõ põrá-kó," "the mother of
*[192] my children," or "the one who gives me children," or "the mother of N" and says the name of the oldest child.

Her tasks are constant, heavy, and of great responsibility. Per-
462 haps in a precarious state of health, for example, during gestation and the delivery, even so, she does them perfectly, without complaining, because they are tribal regulations, therefore they come from a superior will (25).

[593] [123] 25. If, in front of the husband, we purposely show surprise at her great tasks, the woman smiles and says nothing.

[241] The planting and the cleaning of the clearing fall to her. She will spend whole hours in the sun amid the fire and the smoke,
*[192] preparing the piles of branches to be burned, digging and burying the mandioca shoots, cleaning the clearing by the process of pull-
[252] ing out the weeds by hand, Taá kuresé. She is the one who pulls the mandioca, collects it in the aturás /carrying baskets/, and brings it home, where, afterwards, she peels it, grates it, squeezes it, and strains it, in order to make flour. It is she who prepares the foods and the caxiris, takes care of the house and of the rearing of the children. All this while the husband perhaps is idle in

/421 cont./

462 593 man manufactured weapons and implements for one thing and another: canoe, baskets, nets, bows, arrows, traps, etc. In the clearing there fell to him the preliminary work of choosing the spot and felling the trees. The defense of the clearing against the harmful animals or other persons is also his duty. Of the domestic utensils he is the one who manufactures the tipitĺ /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the treatment of the mandioca, as well as the little seats. As for the diet, he is the one who supplies the game, fish, and who brings the fruits from the forest for the caxirís. And he has prepared the ornaments and the musical instruments for the social and religious manifestations. Recognizing, then, the great weight of work that falls upon the woman for the maintenance of the family, we think that it alone does not demonstrate an inferior position for the woman.

593 [583] The Pɑ́aperi, in itself, is not a depreciation of the woman, as we have already noted. The nuptial gifts, more than the dowry of the European customs, properly represent a valorization of the wife. She is really considered greatly useful, not only under the aspect of maternity, so desired and appreciated, since the Indian wishes to have children, but even in the economic one.

[551] As for not knowing the wife's name and the ways of referring to her, they do not seem to be indicators of inferiority. She came from another tribe and another language, perhaps a strange name. In any case they are not accustomed to calling anyone by name, as we shall see. In general, in referring to the wife, the husband uses the expression: -- "The mother of N" and says the name of the first-born child, and this seems to be an affectionate association. She will also say of the husband: "The father of N," which, on her lips, has a particular meaning, as affirmation that it is a legitimate child.

[611] As for the children, this affirmation is of value: the children belong to the tribe more than to the parents. Both the wife and the husband exert little authority over the children, since they are raised with great autonomy. Perhaps she has an ascendancy even greater than the husband, because, at least when they are small, they are exclusively in her care, and they go so far as to learn her idiom.

/431 cont./

553 through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents
782 and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the
[562] mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house, and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things
[821] that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day, holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then
551 repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child
553 receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment, and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration of the object that it was holding at the moment when the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made, to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/ had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases, when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

[177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use. In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian name.

/432 cont./

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• 551 Many times they refuse to reveal to the civilized the "blown name." It is not probable that a superstitious fear (the taboo of the name) enters into this refusal (51),

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> 51. Pièrre Gordon (L'initiation sexuelle et l'évolution réligieuse /The sexual initiation and religious evolution/, p. 132) explains "teknonymy," that is, the custom (incidentally quite widespread: Asia, Africa, America, Oceania) of not uttering the father's name and designating him by the expression: "the father of So-and-So" (saying the child's name), by means of the taboo of the name. The omission of the name would be a sign of respect, just as among many tribes the name of the sacred objects and, among the Jews, that of Javé /Yahweh/ are omitted. And thus he points out that among the Gold there is an interdiction against mentioning the father's name, while being able to say that of one's own mother or wife, because they are in an inferior position. Likewise among the tribes of the Caburí the woman never pronounces the husband's name, she will always say "the father of N."

as if the name represented part of the personality and, for this reason, to reveal it would be harmful to the individual. As a matter of fact, they call each other by the Christian name, and they indicate their own "blown name" and those of their companions with relative ease. The children at school call their companions by the Baxséke Wamẽ in fun and mockery. They hide it in shame, be it indecent or not, in order to seem civilized.

One notices a tendency to abbreviate the names: Candí (for Cândido), Beré (Bernardo), Mandú (Manoel). And many of them, due to the difficulty of pronunciation, corrupt the names:

/432 cont./

177 Sabá (Sebastião), Putucho (Protásio), Burigúrio (Gregório), Duí
• 551 (Luiz), Inhú (João), Baria (Maria), etc.

They moreover like to give grotesque nicknames to their companions, especially in the schools.

551 Here are some of the names most commonly used among the tribes of the Uaupés:

Men's Names	Women's Names
Dyákoro	Anosáro
Dopino (a black bird)	Bu'ú (the Tucunaré fish)
Dö'pó-sũ (foot flea)	Dixsíro
Hakíto	Duhígo (seated)
Henã (a fish)	Dumáha
Kõomãno	Koõ
Ñáhuri	Ñamá paxkó (mother of the deer)
Ñamá saaró (deer horn)	Ñyĩgõ (black, Negress)
Ñyĩgõ (black, Negro)	
Omõsĩ	

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Õre-buru (athlete's foot)	Órĩ pax-kó (mother of the flowers)
Pahíro (large, stout)	Pírõ dõhõo (seated snake)
Pírõ dõhõgõ (seated snake)	
Poá mãri (bald, without hair)	
Sapó-ro (foam)	Semé (paca)
Séribi	Somé
Sibyá põrá (children of the sibyá)	Supyá
Sonã toãmi	
Umũpo	
ũ'ré (nightingale)	
ũ'ré-tõ (bunch of pupunha)	
Wĩrõ (wind)	Wexkoryó (a bird)
Yepá-sõnyá (legendary person)	
Yuxkó-ro (a wood)	
Yupúri	Yu'sío

Among the Tuyuka also:	Among the Barã:
Tunú (flute?)	Bwénomyo
Iñafihĩ	Kamoõ
Dépo (foot)	Neñõ
	Nomĩ
	Yawíra
	Yexpádwa

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men have learned to wear trousers and a cotton tunic at home. For ceremony, however, they wear only the perineal band, now made of trade cloth. For women the skirt has replaced the ornamental ceremonial apron, but for men ceremonial participation in trousers means an important change in outlook in which the ceremony has become secularized. I learned this from young Indian men, visitors to the Cuduiari, who, wearing the cotton trousers and tunic of the mestizo, insisted in explaining to me that they were taking part in dances "just for fun." In the truly solemn ceremonies on the Cuduiari I saw no man in European dress.

The use of Spanish or Portuguese is another sign of change in cultural identification. But here, too, the process is complex. Indian cosmopolitanism is traditionally multilingual. Wives often speak distinct dialects of Tucanoan or else speak Cariban or Arawakan. Children learn the language of the mother first and then learn to speak Cubeo. The Tupian lingua franca has been a traditional trade language between Indians as well as between Indian and white for a very long time. Thus, the Indian who has learned Spanish and Portuguese is simply extending his multilingualism. These European languages have also come to play an important role in native interrelationships. Spanish and/or Portuguese has become the customary language of violent drunken quarrels among men at a drinking party. Used in this context the insults and threats in a foreign language are less ominous, and easier, therefore, to disregard than the same words uttered in the native language. The Cubeo usage is as with us: the foreign phrase used scatologically modifies the impact. Thus, in this respect the Cubeo adoption of foreign European phrases is a matter of enriching the native culture and is far from being a mark of cultural breakdown. I met only a few Indians on the Vaupés and none on the Cuduiari who had given up their native speech in favor of Spanish or Portuguese.

The use of European personal names offers another example of adaptation to the native cultural pattern. Among the Cubeo, personal names come from the traditional genealogy of the sib. They have a sacred character and are not used freely. Knowing a person's sib name is a sign of intimacy and such intimacy is not readily yielded up. I did not learn native personal names for weeks, and even at the end, one of the more embarrassing questions I could ask was simply a person's sib name. In common discourse kinship designations were used. The native name is not so much an appellation as it is sib identification. The headman of the *Bahúkiwa* sib was the first to tell me his name. He uttered it in a whisper close to my ear. Thus, for the Cubeo, [123]

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Thus, for the Cubeo, being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiarí who had a European name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tributaries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civilized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no cultivated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor. At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in 1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

Many Indians of the Cuduiarí had visited Mitú, the capital of the *Comisaría* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in 1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station. After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important administrative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio station, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business. Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiarí were not altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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614 193 tiated by a suffix. From the *Hehénewa* traditions it seems likely that they were originally an independent tribe, probably Tucano, that had joined in with the group of sibs that were headed by the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnbwawü*, bringing with them their associated sibs. The sibs that carry the *Hehénewa* stem with their descriptive prefixes are also known by names that are compounded of the prefixes as well. Thus, the *Byari-Hehénewa* are also known as *Byaridowa*, and the *Pyéndo-Hehénewa* as *Pyéndowa*. According to Koch-Grünberg, the 614 *Órobawa* regard themselves as a branch of the *Hehénewa* and are also known as *Óluba-Hehénewa*. His information was that the *Hehénewa* were the "true" Cubeo and that the *Bahúkiwa* were intrusive Macú (1909, II, 87). The actual history of the sibs is clouded in uncertainty. We can be reasonably sure only of a composite of several distinctive peoples or "tribes." The few *Wathariwa* sibs in my list are also named in a fashion similar to that of the *Hehénewa*.

614 ● 551 Each sib also possesses a list of personal names that constitutes its traditional genealogy.[3] These are names that all sib members must bear. They are called *aínheme* (*aín*: anaconda; *heme*: tongue) to indicate their origin from the speech of the anaconda, the animal form in which all first ancestors emerged from the earth. In these names there is a note of prestige, in that some names are illustrious, being part of the earliest genealogies, while others, having been added later, are less important. Since only one name can be held at a time, names are allocated in order of seniority, but not, insofar as I know, within a senior line. Names with an honorific connotation circulate within [613] the sib, and not by lineage. They are transmitted in alternate gener- [424] ations, going from a deceased grandparent to a grandchild. It should be said at once that while the notions of sib rank and of the distinction between more honorific and less honorific names suggests a structured system of social status, the social significance of status hierarchy is not great. The Cubeo have the skeleton of an aristocratic system that is fleshed with an egalitarian ethos.

Personal names are often those of birds, insects, and beasts, less commonly of fish. In the recent past, it is said, sib members did not eat the flesh of any creature whose name was then being carried by a sib member. This taboo is no longer in force. The explanation given is that hunting is more important now and they do not wish to deprive themselves of animal meat.[4] Without a proper sib name,

[3] There is a list of *Bahúkiwa* names at the end of this chaper.

[4] On the other hand, there is the tradition that in the past they lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering rather than by farming. If this taboo did indeed exist it may have lapsed for the same reason that other ceremonial observances have

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Without a proper sib name,
a child will not grow, the Cubeo say. Growth is an attribute of the Ancients. The giving of a name is one of the ways in which the growth magic of the Ancients is utilized. These names from the sib genealogies are not used freely, the Indians preferring to use Christian names and to address one another by a kinship term.

The sib has permanence and it has continuity with the past. The "history" of each sib is known and is recited at all major ceremonial occasions.[6] In narrating sib "history," distinctions are drawn between original sibs, later comers, and the newest-formed sibs. Since ancientness is honorific and the Cubeo have a sentiment of egalitarianism, these distinctions are underplayed. But when people have been drinking and quarreling the matter of ancestry will be brought up.

The tradition of phratric organization is that all its member sibs are kin. Tradition holds, too, that once all sibs of the same phratry were united under a single headman. But this tradition may refer to the scheme of sib rank and the acknowledgment of the leading sib as the "head" rather than to an actual political organization. On the other hand, since there is little doubt but that tribal organization in this region of the Amazon is highly fluid, with smaller segments forming new enlarged formations and enlarged formations breaking up again into smaller and relatively more stable sib segments, the tradition of the phratry as a political unit cannot be dismissed.

The Cubeo distinguish between *kwinâwũ* (one kin) and *nhẽwetema* (they are not ours) in referring to their own phratry and to an opposite phratry. In the past, there may have been at least four phratries, since the traditions speak of one group of sibs as having amalgamated with another. Previously these two groups had intermarried, it is averred. According to one version of the origin myth the sibs of a phratry are all descended from a single water anaconda called *Pwénte ainhũ* (Anaconda person), who divided himself into segments, the head becoming the leading sib of the phratry, and each subsequent segment forming the remainder of the sib hierarchy. A variant version states that pairs of anacondas emerged from a crevice among the rocks of a rapids, shed their skins, and formed a brother-sister pair. Subsequently, the sisters married out and the brothers took wives from people they met in their wanderings. The first pair to emerge were the head sib, and they gave names to all that followed

lapsed, out of simple neglect. Also to be considered in this connection is the common Cubeo view that the life of past generations was more severe than it is today.

[6] The text of the *Bahûkiwa* "history" follows the sib list in this chapter.

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is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahúkiwa* regard the *Orobawa* as their "head."

Bahúküdjawü A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahúkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahúkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiarí and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, Cucúra *igarapes*.

Bahukuondáwa A subsib of the *Bahüküdjawü* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiarí.

Bahükübuawü A subsib of the *Bahúkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Mánapuánwa* (Trail people) or *Mánawa*. According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiarí overland, and whose emergence site was the Querarí *miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahúkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy.

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Pedíkwa A subsib of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiarí above the *Bahúkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papurí River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toidibü*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedí-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Pediwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiarí. They are also known as *Piátohaüo*.

Kenánihauwü A subsib of the *Pedíkwa* on the upper Cuduiarí at *Piramirí* and at *Abúhakü*. They used to live at *Toidibü* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajú's lists.

Kenámbuawa A subsib of the *Pedíkwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiarí.

Utciwaiwa Their emergence site was the Yurupari *cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from Uaracapurí. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahúkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the Miritî *igarapes* below the Yurupari falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the Dyi *igarapes*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajú. Their first ancestor was called *Utciwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

Baryáwatiwaiwa A sib that emerged from Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utciwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

Piarúwa A sib that emerged at Uaracapurí rapids, from a particular site called *Mumikü*. They live at Miritî *cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the headwaters of the Muchú, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

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place of the closed-off creek [a site above Garaño Lake on the Cuduiarí]. Above them was the whirlpool of Guassi and the fast black waters. There, at the whirlpool of the tree trunk, at *hivakapunáwũ*, at the place of parrots' wings, they portaged overland and they quickly arrived at the place of the *bupékũ* butterflies, at the lake shaped like a container for curare.

They came to the place of many grubs which they cooked into a stew. They came to the high bank where the water rushes in with a sucking sound, to the place of the tangle of roots. They came to the place of the jaguars, to *mahópanwa warínde*, to the place of the bark-cloth fishes, to the creek of the *mimíkũ* bird, and then to the place of the pupunha trees. From there they returned and they came to the creek of the *wakúdjari* fruit, to *tcipédikoriba* and *tcipéũ tavúno*, and then to the slippery place, and then to the bank of the yellow clay, and then to *tuibũ*, where the creek of the red fish is, and then to the hill of the háku fish. Then, at a place called *horordkipúru*, they came to the high bank of mud, and then to the place of the parrots [the present site of the *Bahúkiwa* sib]. At the creek of the parrots they came upon the circular trench called "the circle of women" [because it is the women who dug this trench]. There an Ancient who had been tied up by his enemies managed to free himself and escape. Now they continued up the creek to the place of the sweet potato, and they came to the creek of the wild peccary and then on to the lake of the birds and the bird place.

From there they went up the creek of the sweet waters to the place of the doves. And then they went to the place where maize grew and then to the sharp jaguar rock. Here an Ancient, sitting down on the rock, pierced his rectum and died. They went on to the place of the milk palm, to the garden of the jaguar, to the place where the *kamindũ* turned to stone. They came to *kwũnkwũnitoto*, where *Kwũnkwũ* the Ancient decided to settle down. [This is the *Bahúkiwa* Ancient who later decided that he did not care to be human and turned himself back into an anaconda.]

The Ancients moved on to the place of the háku and puño fish, to the place of *Wari* the in-law, the hill of the woodpeckers, to the rocky rapids where *Komóri* the Ancient settled down, then to the parrot beak rock, then to the place of the sloth, then to the place of the bark-cloth trees, then to the rocks of the manioc graters, then to the place of the deer, and then to the place of the small parakeets, where *Opómbibekũ* lived [a dwarf with an enormous penis]. Finally, they went to the place of the stone people [at the head of the Cuduiarí].

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TRADITIONAL NAMES IN THE *BAHÚKIWA* GENEALOGIES

MALE	MALE	FEMALE
Aribahúkũ	*Kwũnkwũ* or *Kwdhũnkwũ*	*Bahúko*
Arienakũ	*Miabekudjo*	*Henéako*
Bahúkũ	*Onpéhena*	*Henékwwa*
Bahúkũbekũdjo	*Onpwénabe*	*Iho*
Bahúkũdjitca	*Onpwénde*	*Ihoruko*
Bekũbe	*Onpwéndabu*	*Kokdhenako*
Bwũ	*Onpwéndakũ*	*Kokdiko*
Hardkũ		

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MALE	MALE	FEMALE
Hehéna	*Onpwéna kudhãnakuũ*	*Mídnko*
Itũtũ	*Onpwénaeu*	*Opwénaeko*
Kohdhena	*Wdhena*	
Kohai	*Wai*	
Kohaidi	*Waihomu*	
Kohaihũ	*Waihomihũtũ*	
Kuméri	*Waimoya*	
Kuméra		

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846 789 262 fish that are mentioned. For example, a small fish that has many small bones, the *dóthe*, is addressed, "Son of the *dóthe* have no spines. Do not cause harm to our offspring. Allow [yourself] to be eaten."

[603] In the case of the aracú, the most common fish in the diet, the grandfather who is reciting the spells takes up a fish and cuts off its tail. If he did not do this, the tail when eaten would grow into a full-sized fish in the stomach and kill the child. After each spell has been recited the grandfather blows tobacco smoke, wafting his breath by an outward motion of the hand. The magical mechanism, as it was explained to me, is that the recitation invokes the fish and the blowing (*pupúdjü*) has the effect of dispelling the danger.

Capsicum is spelled and blown so that its odor, which has the power to dispel ghosts and spirits, will not harm the child. Manioc has a disturbing odor when raw. This odor will be harmful and the manioc itself will not nourish if the spell is not recited. The child will remain thin. Eating unspelled manioc cake will also cause the child's skin to become as hard and coarse as the bark of a tree. Each variety of manioc, however, must be mentioned by name.

For birds, however, the small white eagle is invoked because this bird, the *towáve*, eats all birds that the Cubeo eat. The spell states that as the "odor of burned birds" does not harm the *towáve* so it will not harm the human young. Similarly, for animals the young of the jaguar are invoked in behalf of all the game they eat. However, whereas the *towáve* is addressed generally in behalf of all birds, the spell for the jaguar must mention each of the animals he eats by name. Again, the danger to be avoided is in each case that of the odor of cooking.

846 789 The spell that is chanted as the river is "blown" refers to the anacondas, asking them not to notice the people who are bathing. The cigarette smoke as it is wafted over the river is told to form a heavy coating as of miriti fibers so that nothing that is below water can come to the surface.

The reference of these spells seems ambiguous for the Cubeo. It is clear, of course, that what is sought is protection for the newborn [551] infant. Since the infant has as yet no name and must be referred to only by the general designation *pwénte hyédokü* (offspring person), the spells, my informant explained, have beneficial effects for all offspring of the sib.

[302] The man who "blows" the river coats his hands and feet with genipa so that he seems to be wearing gloves and stockings. The genipa has magical power to dispel water spirits. He carries a handful of burning faggots from the hearth of the natal household while

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act believed to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press anything, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahú* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahúmikũ* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is conducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather repeatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

551 nowers, but when asking a Tukano his name we would be given a Spanish one or nothing at all. Possibly the reason for this was that by saying his name aloud an Indian might call back the spirit of an ancestor who had the same name, or worse, by telling us he might have given us power to work evil over him. Incidentally they would usually ask ours, which we would give them – to their obvious amusement, possibly owing to the strange sound which they would find almost unpronounceable.

152 752 An Indian will show a stoical indifference to a wound in fighting or an accident while hunting. On one occasion a man was brought to us with his hand full of gunshot. He had been carrying his old carbine through the [123] forest by the muzzle! We spent nearly two hours cleaning the wound and picking out the shot, while he chatted away to his brother seemingly unconcerned. 753 Yet when suffering from a less obvious ailment an Indian is often convinced that someone has worked evil on him. Should death occur, his relations must seek revenge on whoever is responsible. On the occasion of [123] Watsora's death our own position was extremely unsure, particularly when Kuarumey departed on the following morning to visit the shaman.

It seems in retrospect extraordinary that we were ever allowed to con- 756 tinue our journey. For the shaman once consulted has to find a victim on 123 whom he can place the blame for an ailment or death – in this case both, in the same house, the one in which we were guests. What better subject could he have had, the visiting white man, regarded with suspicion by the Indians, and uninvited? Barely two decades earlier the Indians of the Piraparaná showed no compunction in killing *caucheros* who interfered in their lives. Surely their views could not have changed so radically, in so short a time, to make ourselves an exception to the rule.

764 Perhaps the most noticeable thing about Watsora's burial was the speed with which she was buried and the fact that this was done within the *maloca*. [775] This could be accounted for by the fear that the body might be whisked away and eaten – some of these tribes were once cannibals – and then the spirit could never escape to the afterlife. Also, once buried, there was no indication as to where they had placed the body.

614 Like most of the Amazonian tribes the Tukano have no real central authority or clan cohesion. The authority, such as it is, is invested in the heads of families. These composite families seldom number more than twenty to thirty people, usually far less. In the past clans have united to fight a common enemy. At the turn of the century one chieftain south of the Apaporis organized a small army of clans to fight the encroaching white *caucheros* and to kill any Indians found collaborating with them, but this was an exceptional case.

[756] Even the head of the clan or family has only a semblance of authority, though there are exceptions, and often less power than the shaman. This lack of leadership combined with a preference for isolation – which may be